

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 05965 01 OF 03 252341Z

64

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-05 L-01 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4547

USDAO BONN

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

CINCUSAFE

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 5965

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: DRC MULTILATERAL REVIEW - FRG

REF: A. USNATO 5485 (NOTAL)

B. USNATO 5838 (NOTAL)

C. STATE 233745 (NOTAL)

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BEGIN SUMMARY: DRC ON OCTOBER 24 REVIEWED FRG 1975-1979 FORCE
PLANS AS PRESENTED IN FRG REPLY TO DPQ(74). ADMIRAL TREBESCH, WHO
HEADED FRG TEAM, MADE A MAJOR TOUR D' HORIZON OUTLINING BASIC
ELEMENTS OF FRG DEFENSE POLICY AND RELATING THESE ELEMENTS TO
MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE. TREBESCH EXPRESSED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH US
DISCUSSION PAPER ON MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, ACKNOWLEDGED SOME
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05965 01 OF 03 252341Z

DIFFERENCES, AND STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF NOT DEPARTING FROM MC 14/3,
ESPECIALLY EMPHASES ON TRIAD AND FORWARD DEFENSE.
TREBESCH CITED OVERWHELMING NUMBER OF US INITIATIVES IN DEFENSE
PLANNING FIELD AND PLEADED FOR TIME TO READ, STUDY, ANALYZE, AND

DIGEST THESE INITIATIVES. CHAIRMAN CHARACTERIZED FRG DEFENSE EFFORT AS MAJOR AND CREDITABLE. US POSED MAJORITY OF QUESTIONS ON FRG FORCE PLANS. END SUMMARY.

1. DRC BEGAN 1974 MULTIALTERAL EXAMINATION OF COUNTRY DEFENSE EFFORTS WITH REVIEW OF FRG 1975-1979 FORCE PLANS AS PRESENTED IN FRG REPLY TO DPQ(74). ADMIRAL TREBESCH (MOD, CHIEF OF MILITARY POLICY AND PLANS) HEADED FRG TEAM. CHAIRMAN HUMPHREYS THANKED FRG FOR SENDING SUCH A HIGH-LEVEL TEAM. ADMIRAL TREBESCH REPLIED THAT HIS PRESENCE REFELCTS FRG RESPECT FOR IMPORTANT ROLE DRC PLAYS IN HELPING ALLIES SOLVE COMMON DEFENSE PROBLEMS. HUMPHREYS' INTRODUCTION, WHICH CHARACTERIZED GERMAN DEFENSE CONTRIBUTION AS MAJOR AND CREDITABLE, DREW ATTENTION TO FOLLOWING PROBLEMS: A) SHIFT OF ALL FORCES (EXCEPT AIR DEFENSE) FROM ASSIGNED TO EARMARKED CATGORY, B) ARRANGEMENTS WITH NETHERLANDS ON NUCLEAR SUPPORT FOR 1(NL) CORPS (FIST AND MOST CONCRETE POTENTIAL EXAMPLE OF RATIONALIZATION/SPECIALIZATION), AND C) LARGE PORTION OF CLOSE SUPPORT COMBAT AIRCRAFT WITHOUT ALL-WEATHER CAPABILITY.

2. ADMIRAL TREBESCH (USING INFORMAL NOTES) MADE A MAJOR, 40-MINUTE TOUR D'HORIZON, CLEARLY DIRECTED AT US, OF DEFENSE POLICY QUESTIONS. HIGHLIGHTS OF TREBESCH'S POLICY REMARKS FOLLOW:

A. GEOPOLITICS: FRG'S GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION GOVERNS HER FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICIES; FRG ADJOINS MORE NEIGHBORS THAN ANY OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRY.

B. DILEMMAS IN SEARCH FOR SECURITY HAVE CAUSED FRG TO PURSUE POLICIES LEADING TO TWO DISASTROUS WORLD WARS.

C. FRG GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION IMPOSES GREATER RISKS AND HIGHER OBLIGATIONS; THUS FRG HAS A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ASSURING PEACE ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT.

D. IT IS VITAL TO GERMANY THAT THE NATO ALLIANCE BE A "GOING CONCERN", WHICH CAN FULFILL ITS MISSIONS.

SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 05965 01 OF 03 252341Z

E. FRG STRONGLY OPPOSES ANY DEPARTURE FROM MC 14/3 AND CONSIDERS IT ESSENTIAL THAT NATO'S STRATEGY MAINTAIN AN IN-SEPARABLE REPEAT INSEPARABLE LINK BETWEEN CONVENTIONAL, TACTICAL NUCLEAR, AND STRATEGIC NUCLEAR CAPABILITES.

F. FOR GERMANY THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO FORWARD DEFENSE; A CONVENTIONAL WAR RANGING BACK AND FORTH ACROSS FRG, CONDUCTED WITH MODERN WEAPONS AND LASTING FOR ANY EXTENDED PERIOD OF TIME WOULD BE ALMOST AS DESTRUCTIVE AS A NUCLEAR WAR.

G. SECRETARYSCHLESINGER'S OCTOBER 16 ADDRESS TO ASSOCIATION OF US ARMY MERITS SPECIAL ATTENTION; IN PARTICULAR POINTS ON:
(1) INTERRELATIONSHIP OF DETENTE AND DEFENSE, (2) IF WEST FAILS,

HISTORY WILL JUDGE US NOT BY OUR EXCUSES, BUT BY OUR FAILURES AND LOST CHANCES, AND (3) AN UNDERSTANDING OF SECURITY REQUIREMENTS DEMANDS INTELLECTUAL DISCIPLINE AND A REJECTION OF CLICHES.

H. ALLIANCE NEEDS TO PRESENT A CONVINCING RATIONALE FOR DEFENSE TO YOUNGER GENERATION.

I. CONVENTIONAL COMPONENT MUST BE CREDIBLE AS A DETERRENT FORCE AND BE ABLE TO HOLD UNTIL REINFORCEMENTS DEPLOYED; PRESENCE OF US FORCES IN FRG ESSENTIAL TO BOTH DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE. IN LIGHT OF US-USSR NUCLEAR PARITY, FRG UNDERSTANDS US STRESS ON CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES; FOR CURRENT STRATEGY TO WORK, RISKS MUST BE ACCEPTABLE TO US.

J. AMERICA MUST GIVE EUROPE TIME TO OVERCOME ITS PROBLEMS SO EUROPE CAN ADDRESS THE RELATED QUESTIONS OF HOW LONG IT NEEDS US FORCES IN EUROPE AND HOW LONG IT CAN EXPECT US FORCES TO REMAIN IN EUROPE.

K. ALL THESE POLICY QUESTIONS TOUCH AT THE HEART OF FUTURE DEFENSE PLANNING WHICH NATO IS NOW CONSIDERING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE FOR THE 1977-82 PERIOD; FRG WELCOMES BOTH IS DRAFT AND US DISCUSSION PAPER; FRG WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT US CALL ITS LONG RANGE DEFENSE CONCEPT, A LONG RANGE DEFENSE PLANNING CONCEPT; FRG DISMAYED THAT EVERY FEW WEEKS, DRC FINDS NEW KEY ELEMENTS; FRG AUTHORITIES READ WITH GREAT INTEREST SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S OCTOBER 17 LETTER TO DEFENSE MINISTERS; FRG CAN AGREE WITH MANY OF THE POINTS IN US DISCUSSION PAPER, BUT US
SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 05965 01 OF 03 252341Z

CANNOT EXPECT ALL NATO ALLIES TO AGREE ON ALL THE BASIC POINTS.

1. IS DRAFT, WHICH LARGELY INCORPORATES PROVEN IDEAS (ESPECIALLY REGARDING STRATEGY AND FORCE PLANNING) FROM PAST MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE PAPERS AND OTHER NATO AGREED DOCUMENTS ACCORDS WITH MANY OF FRG'S VIEWS; FRG, AS DRC KNOWS, DOES NOT AGREE WITH IS ON RESOURCE GUIDANCE.

M TREBESCH REITERATED WITHIN DISCUSSION OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE IMPORTANCE FRG ATTACHES TO MC 14/3 AND US MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE; INFLUENCE OF CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON IS MORE BINDING THAN IMPACT OF PARLAMENTS IN SOME OTHER NATO CAPITALS.

N. LOOKING AT LONG RANGE CONCEPT, FRG UNDERSTANDS US MUST RECONSIDER ALL MODELS OF STRATEGIC THINKING IN LIGHT OF PARITY; US MUST GIVE IMPETUS TO EUROPEAN PARTNERS TO ASSUME A PROPER DEFENSE EFFORT THUS REDISTRIBUTING THE DEFENSE BURDEN; GREATER EUROPEAN EFFORT WOULD HELP THE U.S. WITH CONGRESS AND WOULD IMPROVE CONVENTIONAL DETERRENCE AND POSTPONE NECESSITY TO USE TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS; NPG HAS ADDED GREATLY TO NATO'S UNDERSTANDING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (CITING IN PARTICULAR NPG STUDY ON POLITICAL GUIDELINES FOR INITIAL USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS).

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 05965 02 OF 03 260002Z

64

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-05 L-01 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 USNATO 5965

O. FRG VIEWS STRATEGY DISCUSSIONS AS RELATING TO A DYNAMIC AS CONTRASTED WITH STATIC PROCESS; STRATEGY MUST BE FILLED OUT IN LIGHT OF NEW DEVELOPMENTS; HOWEVER, FRG HAS A DUTY TO THE ALLIANCE AND TO THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN A CERTAIN SKEPTICISM AS WE ADDRESS THE LONG RANGE CONCEPT.

P. NATO HAS AN OBLIGATION TO ANALYZE THE LONG RANGE CONCEPT; THERE IS STILL A LONG WAY TO GO AND THERE IS NO BLUEPRINT WHICH SHOWS THE WAY; DRC IS JUST TAKING FIRST BABY STEPS IN THIS ANALYSIS DIRECTED TOWARD FOSTERING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AT ALL LEVELS.

3. ABOUT HALF WAY THROUGH HIS REMARKS, TREBESCH STOOD UP AND SHOWED DRC A PAPER (APPROXIMATELY 4 FEET LONG AND 2 FEET WIDE), WHICH HE STATED DISPLAYED HIS STAFF'S ANALYSIS AND INDICATED STATUS OF US INITIATIVES OVER THE LAST 17 MONTHS IN THE DEFENSE PLANNING FEILD. TREBESCH SAID THIS LENGTHY LIST OF INITIATIVES RANGES FROM SACEUR'S FLEXIBILITY AND MC CONVENTIONAL BALANCE
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05965 02 OF 03 260002Z

STUDIES TO STANDARDIZATION, TO MBFR OPTION III, TO THE BUNN AMENDMENT, THROUGH MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, ETC.

4. TREBESCH PLEADED FOR TIME TO READ, STUDY, ANALYZE AND DIGEST

ALL THESE INITIATIVES. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE "US SIGNAL", WHICH HE IMPLIED IS SEARCH FOR A RATIONALE FOR A CONTINUED US MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT AS THE VOLUME OF NATO DOCUMENTS INCREASES AND THE DOCUMENTS BECOME LONGER AND LESS READABLE FOR MINISTERS (CONTRASTING 9 PAGES IN 1969 AND 3 PAGES IN 1971 MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, WITH 32 PAGES IN US DISCUSSION PAPER), THAT MINISTERS BECOME MORE DEPENDENT ON THEIR PLANNERS. HE ADMITTED, FRANKLY, THAT FRG DOES NOT HAVE STAFF TO ANALYZE ADEQUATELY ALL THESE INITIATIVES WHICH CONSEQUENTLY MEANS INITIATIVES CARRY DANGER OF MISINTERPRETATION.

5. FOLLOWING TREBESCH'S REMARKS, CHAIRMAN HUMPHREYS THANKED HIM FOR HIS STIMULATING TOUR D'HORIZON AND NOTED DRC IS DISCUSSING MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE IN A SEPARATE SERIES OF MEETINGS, HENCE REMAINDER OF DAY'S MEETING SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON MULTILATERAL REVIEW OF FRG FORCE PLANS; HE ENJOINED DRC TO KEEP QUESTIONS AT POLICY LEVEL. PRIOR TO QUESTIONING FRG FORCE PLANS (DRAWN FROM REFS), US REP (CLINARD) THANKED TREBESCH FOR HIS THOUGHT PROVOKING TOUR D' HORIZON AND SAID US CAN AGREE WITH GREAT DEAL OF WHAT TREBESCH SAID AND LOOKED FORWARD TO CONTINUING DISCUSSION IN DRC.

6. DEFENSE SPENDING. US REP (CLINARD) COMPLIMENTED FRG ON FRANKNESS AND COMPREHENSIVENESS OF ITS DPQ(74) REPLY AND ITS IMPRESSIVE OVERALL DEFENSE EFFORT. CHAIRMAN ECHOED US REP'S REMARKS CONCERNING DPQ(74) REPLY. US REP NOTED DIFFICULTIES ASSOCIATED WITH PROVIDING SOME OUT-YEAR INFORMATION, AND STATED ASSUMPTION THAT FRG WOULD SOON PROVIDE FINANCIAL INFORMATION BY SERVICE. COMMENT: AFTER MEETING, FRG FINANCIAL EXPERT INDICATED TO MISSION OFFICER FRG NO LONGER INTENDS TO FURNISH ESTIMATES SINCE DEFENSE BUDGET PRESENTED TO BUNDESTAG IS NOT SERVICE ORIENTED AND IN PAST FRG ONLY SUPPLIED THESE ESTIMATES TO COOPERATE WITH NATO. HE ADDED THAT SUCH FACTORS AS NOT KNOWING WHICH SERVICE WOULD RECEIVE NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS RENDERED THESE ESTIMATES USELESS. END COMMENT. US REP ASKED IF INFLATION WOULD VIRTUALLY ERASE PROSPECTS FOR REAL TERM INCREASES IN DEFENSE SPENDING. IN REPLY, TREBESCH NOTED DIFFICULTIES IN SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 05965 02 OF 03 260002Z

PROJECTING REAL TERM INCREASES AND SAID, ALTHOUGH FRG DEFENSE BUDGET HAS NO AUTOMATIC BUILT-IN COMPENSATION FOR INFLATION (ESTIMATED AT 5.5 TO 6.0 PERCENT), CURRENT PROJECTIONS COVER CERTAIN INFLATIONARY ELEMENTS. TREBESCH INDICATED FRG HAS PROBLEMS IN MEASURING REAL TERM INCREASES AND ASKED RHETORICALLY, IF U.S. EXPECTS A 3 PERCENT REAL GROWTH RATE. COMMENT: FRG DIFFICULTIES IN PROJECTING REAL TERM GROWTH HARBINGERS PROBLEMS WITH US RESOURCE GUIDANCE. END COMMENT.

7. CHAIRMAN RECALLED FRG STATEMENT (DURING DRC SPRING REVIEW OF FRG 1975-80 FORCE GOALS), THAT FINANCING IS NOT AS LIMITING A FACTOR IN IMPLEMENTING FORCE GOALS FOR FRG AS IT IS FOR OTHER NATO COUNTRIES. CHAIRMAN NOTED DRAFT COUNTRY CHAPTER PROVIDES A RANGE OF

INDICATORS FOR MEASURING QUALITY AND SCOPE OF COUNTRY DEFENSE EFFORTS. TREBESCH REPLIED THAT DRC IS WELL AWARE OF MOD LEBER'S INTEREST IN USING OTHER MEASURING RODS THAN PERCENT OF GNP FOR DEFENSE; HE STRESSED THERE IS NO SIMPLE OR SINGLE ANSWER AND ANTICIPATED A RETURN TO THIS SUBJECT AT DECEMBER DPC MINISTERIAL. FRG FINANCIAL EXPERT SAID ACTUAL DEFENSE SPENDING LEVELS, IN EVITABLY PROVE TO BE HIGHER THAN CONSERVATIVE PLANNING FIGURES FURNISHED IN DPQ RESPONSES, AND FRG WOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE SUFFICIENT FUNDS TO MAINTAIN MILITARY STRENGTH AT CURRENT LEVELS.

8. NETHERLANDS REP (CARSTEN), NOTING TRUDEAU'S REMARKS TO THE NAC (USNATO 5930) THAT NATO COUNTRIES SHOULD FOLLOW EACH OTHER'S DEFENSE EFFORTS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE, SAID FRG IS A MODEL EXAMPLE (A GOOD BOY) WHOM SOME OF THE BAD BOYS SHOULD FOLLOW. CARSTEN ALSO STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF CORRECTING INFLATION IN DEFENSE SPENDING THROUGH AUTOMATIC BUDGET COVERAGE OF INFLATIONARY PAY AND PRICE INCREASES. TREBESCH SAID COUNTRIES MUST LEARN TO TREAT DEFENSE AND ECONOMY AS A WHOLE; IN THIS CONNECTION FRG SUPPORTS ATTENDANCE OF FINANCE MINISTERS AT DPC MINISTERIALS. COMMENT: MISSION NOTES FRG FINANCE MINISTER DID NOT ATTEND DECEMBER MINISTERIALS BETWEEN 1963-1973 (USNATO 5903).

9. WAR RESERVES. IN RESPONSE TO US QUESTION, FRG ARMY EXPERT SAID FRG JUST BEGINNING TO INTRODUCE TOW, HENCE IT IS CURRENTLY IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH REQUIRED STOCK LEVELS. HE NOTED FRG IS INCREASING STOCKS FOR AT GUIDED WEAPONS FROM 20 TO 40 ROUNDS PER WEAPONS AND FRG INTENDS TO INCREASE 155 MM STOCKS.

SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 05965 02 OF 03 260002Z

10. WAR AUTHORIZED STRENGTH (WAS). FRG ARMY EXPERT COULD NOT EXPLAIN PROJECTED PROGRESSIVE DECLINE IN WAS, BUT PROMISED TO PROVIDE EXPLANATION TO USNATO IN WRITING.

11. ELECTRONIC WARFARE (EW). IN REPLY TO US QUERY, FRG SERVICE EXPERTS CONFIRMED THAT A NUMBER OF EW RESEARCH PROJECTS ARE UNDERWAY AND PROMISED TO PROVIDE DETAILS AS SOON AS AVAILABLE.

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 05965 03 OF 03 260009Z

64

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-05 L-01 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 USNATO 5965

12. AIR DEFENSE. REGARDING INTRODUCTION OF ROLAND II (FORCE GOALS 1A01, 1A02, 1M13), FRG EXPERTS INDICATED TECHNICAL AND PERSONNEL/FINANCIAL REASONS WILL PROBABLY PREVENT INTRODUCTION DURING THE PLANNING PERIOD. NAVY EXPERT ADDED INTRODUCTION OF ROLAD II AT NAVAL SHORE INSTALLATIONS IS CONTINGENT ON PHASING OF AIR FORCE INTRODUCTION, I.E., ROLAD II IS A TRI-SERVICE PROJECT.

13. SURPLUS EQUIPMENT. US REP ASKED FOR INFORMATION ON DISPOSITION OF M-48 TANKS AND HOWITZERS RENDERED SURPLUS BY MODERNIZATION AND REORGANIZATION. ARMY EXPERT SAID TERRITORIAL ARMY WILL USE THE SURPLUS EQUIPMENT.

14. CLOSE SUPPORT AIRCRAFT. CHAIRMAN SAID TWO-THIRDS OF FRG CLOSE SUPPORT COMBAT AIRCRAFT CANNOT OPERATE IN FOUL WEATHER AND AT NIGHT. TREBESCH ACKNOWLEDGED PROBLEM AND SAID FOR PRESENT, FRG CANNOT ALTER SITUATION, BUT FRG WOULD SOLVE PROBLEM IN FUTURE. THOROUGH INTRODUCTION OF MRCA WITH NIGHT AND ALL-WEATHER CAPABILITY.

SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 05965 03 OF 03 260009Z

15. NUCLEAR ARTILLERY. TREBESCH, CITING HIS RELUCTANCE TO COMMENT ON BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS FOR NUCLEAR SUPPORT ARRANGEMENTS, DISCLOSED THAT FRG AND NETHERLANDS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO REACH CONCLUSIONS SATISFACTORY TO BOTH SIDES. HE REFERRED TO MANPOWER AND COST PROBLEMS AND OTHER FACTORS (NOT IDENTIFIED) NOT IN SPECIALIZATION FIELD AND SAID MOD LEBER WOULD REPORT TO DPC ON THIS SUBJECT. CHAIRMAN ASKED IF HEAVY ARTILLERY IS DUAL CAPABLE; ARMY EXPERT REPLIED THAT FRG IS CONVERTING SOME 155 MM HOWITZERS TO DUAL CAPABLE AND QUESTION EVOLVES AROUND UNIT CAPABILITY MORE THAN CAPABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL PIECES OF EQUIPMENT.

16. RESTRUCTURING. IN RESPONDING TO SHAPE REP'S (GEN MILLER) QUESTION ON RESTRUCTURING OF FRG FORCES, TREBESCH NOTED RESTRUCTURING MAY ALLOW INVESTMENT SHARE OF DEFENSE BUDGET TO REACH 30 PERCENT, AND STRESSED REORGANIZED BRIGADES ARE COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT FROM ANY FORM OF MOBILIZATION (MAJOR WEAPON SYSTEMS FULLY MANNED IN PEACETIME). HE EMPHASIZED READINESS FEATURE OF RESTRUCTURED BRIGADE BECAUSE OF EXTREME MOVEMENT DIFFICULTIES IN FRG IN TIMES OF CRISIS AND VOICED CONCERN THAT IN NORTHAG 13

BRIGADES ARE STATIONED CONSIDERABLE DISTANCE FROM GDP.

17. IN CONCLUDING, CHAIRMAN SAID REVIEW OF FRG FORCE PLANS WAS A MODEL FOR FUTURE DRC MULTILATERALS AND ENJOINED DRC TO CONTINUE TO KEEP QUESTIONS AT A POLICY LEVEL.

18. FOR USDAO BONN: BECAUSE OF NATURE OF THIS YEAR'S DRC REVIEW, USNATO DID NOT ASK ALL THE QUESTIONS PROPOSED IN REF D. MISSION SUGGESTS, IF APPROPRIATE, USDAO POSE QUESTIONS BILATERALLY; MISSION LIKewise WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED OF RESPONSES. REGARDING NATO DEFINITION OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, MISSION SENT BY LETTER COPY OF 1974 DEFENSE PLANNING QUESTIONNAIRE, INCLUDING ANNEX A, DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, TO POL/MIL SECTION, EMBASSY BONN, ON MAY 15, 1974.
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